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Source Book
THE NATIONAL SEMINAR
of Jews, Catholics, Protestants

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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The National Conference of Jews and Christians

289 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

A DEDICATION

"To all men and women of good will, everywhere, who hold the faith that, in the end, the more satisfying road to an intelligently ordered world lies through knowledge rather than obscurantism, through consent rather than compulsion, through humane tolerance rather than through brutal partisanship."

—Julius Drachsler.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE *of* JEWS AND CHRISTIANS

289 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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FOREWORD

THIS data book presents in preliminary form selections from materials deemed pertinent to the discussions of the National Conference. The compilation has been made for the purpose of giving those who attend access to some comparatively inaccessible sources, as well as of referring to some of the books which churchmen, educators and social scientists are using.

This book has been prepared primarily as introductory or background material, although it may be found useful in some of the round-table discussions of the Seminar.

In the compilation and selection of materials for this Source Book the National Conference was assisted by Emory S. Bogardus, Frank Gavin, Mordecai Grossman, S. Ralph Harlow, W. H. Kilpatrick, Abraham Cronbach, H. L. Lurie, A. D. Sheffield, C. E. Silcox, Kimball Young, among others.

The members of the Seminar are asked to write their opinions as to the value of the material here presented and their suggestions as to the form in which they think it might be published.

BENSON Y. LANDIS,
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The National Conference of Jews and Christians.
289 Fourth Avenue,
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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Chapter One	5
Selections from the Writings of George Washington	
Chapter Two	9
Nature and Origins of Prejudice	
Chapter Three	21
The Social Costs of Prejudice	
Chapter Four	31
Methods of Dealing with Prejudices	
Chapter Five	41
The Seminar as a Technique	

CHAPTER ONE

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

PRESERVATION OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

To the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States,

May, 1789.

It shall be my endeavor to . . . contribute whatever may be in my power towards the preservation of the civil and religious liberties of the American people.

RELIGIOUS RIGHTS AND LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

*To the General Committee Representing the United Baptist Churches
in Virginia.*

May, 1789.

If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension, that the constitution framed in the convention, where I had the honor to preside, might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and, if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution.

OF ALL ANIMOSITIES

To Sir Edward Newenham.

Philadelphia, 20 October, 1792.

Of all the animosities which have existed among mankind, those which are caused by a difference of sentiments in religion appear to be the most inveterate and distressing, and ought most to be deprecated. I was in hopes that the enlightened and liberal policy, which has marked the present age, would at least have reconciled *Christians* of every denomination so far, that we should never again see their religious disputes carried to such a pitch, as to endanger the peace of society. . . .

JUSTICE AND LIBERALITY

To the Roman Catholics in the United States.

December, 1789.

As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those, who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality.

“GOVERNMENTS . . . INSTITUTED TO PROTECT THE PERSONS
AND CONSCIENCES OF MEN.”

To the Religious Society Called Quakers

October, 1789.

Government being, among other purposes, instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but, according to their stations, to prevent it in others.

The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings*, but also of their *rights*. While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety demand or expect; and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion, or modes of faith, which they may prefer or profess.

SPIRIT OF LIBERALITY AND PHILANTHROPY

To the Hebrew Congregation of the City of Savannah.

May, 1790.

I rejoice, that a spirit of liberality and philanthropy is much more prevalent than it formerly was among the enlightened nations of the earth, and that your brethren will benefit thereby in proportion as it shall become still more extensive. Happily, the people of the United States of America have, in many instances, exhibited examples worthy of imitation, the salutary influence of which will doubtless extend much farther. . . .

PEACE, LIBERTY, AND FREE INQUIRY

*To the Convention of the Universal Church Lately Assembled in
Philadelphia.*

1790.

It gives me the most sensible pleasure to find, that, in our nation, however different are the sentiments of citizens on religious doctrines, they generally concur in one thing; for their political professions and practices are almost universally friendly to the order and happiness of our civil institutions. I am also happy in finding this disposition particularly evinced by your society. It is, moreover, my earnest desire, that all the members of every association or community, throughout the United States, may make such use of the auspicious years of peace, liberty, and free inquiry, with which they are now favored, as they shall hereafter find occasion to rejoice for having done.

TRUTH AND REASON TRIUMPH OVER BIGOTRY AND SUPERSTITION

To the Members of the New Church in Baltimore.

January, 1793.

We have abundant reason to rejoice, that, in this land, the light of truth and reason has triumphed over the power of bigotry and superstition, and that every person may here worship God according to the dictates of his own heart. In this enlightened age, and in this land of equal liberty, it is our boast, that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the laws, nor deprive him of the right of attaining and holding the highest offices that are known in the United States.

HUMAN HAPPINESS AND MORAL DUTY ARE INSEPARABLE

To the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church

August 19th, 1789.

It affords edifying prospects, indeed, to see Christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more Christian-like spirit, than ever they have done in any former age, or in any other nation.

PIETY, PHILANTHROPY, HONESTY, INDUSTRY, AND ECONOMY

To the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

May, 1789.

While all men within our territories are protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of their consciences, it is rationally to be expected from them in return, that they will all be emulous of evincing the sanctity of their professions by the . . . beneficence of their actions.

RELIGION AND MORALITY THE PILLARS OF SOCIETY

To the Clergy of Different Denominations, Residing in and Near the City of Philadelphia.

March, 1797.

Believing, as I do, that religion and morality are the essential pillars of civil society, I view, with unspeakable pleasure, that harmony and brotherly love, which characterizes the clergy of different denominations, as well in this, as in other parts of the United States; exhibiting to the world a new and interesting spectacle, at once the pride of our country and the surest basis of universal harmony.

That your labors for the good of mankind may be crowned with success, that your temporal enjoyments may be commensurate with your merits, and that the future reward of good and faithful servants may be yours, I shall not cease to supplicate the Divine Author of life and felicity.

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

To the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island

All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

CHAPTER TWO

NATURE AND ORIGINS OF PREJUDICE

A DEFINITION

Prejudice means just what it says, to prejudge a person or group. The tendency to prejudge comes from both personal and cultural conditioning. Prejudice always has an element of dislike if not fear and hatred in it. Antipathy for others is quite natural. We early build up antagonistic, unpleasant attitudes towards some people and favorable, pleasant ones toward others. These attitudes are fostered by differences in manner, voice, language, color of skin, and habits. But like or dislike based on personal experience with people does not necessarily constitute prejudice.

Prejudice really rests upon the construction and acceptance by a group of certain generalized notions or pictures of typical characteristics of another group. That is to say, prejudice is found only where there is a customary, group-accepted set of stereotypes or ideas and emotions about another group *thought of as a unit*. The individual member of the other group is always seen through the veil of the group-stereotype. Mr. Isaacson is not an individual of education and travel first, and secondarily, if important, a Jew. Mr. A. Giolotti is thought of as a "Dago" by the people who purchase his vegetables. He is never thought of as a personality aside from this group-made picture of his national background.

—Kimball Young, Adapted slightly from "*The Social Psychology of Oriental-Occidental Prejudices*" (pp. 3-4).

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PREJUDICE

Prejudice is easily recognizable, even in ourselves. The recognizable earmarks are psychological. Prejudice may be positive, tending toward blind acceptance of something or somebody. It may be negative, tending toward condemnation of something or somebody. It is an emotional reaction, not based upon rational considerations. It tends to work for all of us, however intelligent we may be, outside the field of rational control. Prejudices are automatic emotional responses to certain symbols, or objects.

—William Biddle, *Psychology and Prejudice*. Available in pamphlet form from The National Conference of Jews and Christians.

"NO INSTINCTIVE PREJUDICES"

Racial, nationalistic, religious, and all other varieties of prejudice are fundamentally socially conditioned reactions. There are no instinctive prejudices. All are socially created. The only "instinctive" element, if you use "instinctive" to mean unlearned, is this capacity to develop either in one direction or in the other. How they are to behave, what kinds of habits they will acquire, depends upon social influences. By social conditioning, I mean that the social environment into which a child is born is replete with admonitions, positive and negative, which tend accumulatively to fix attitudes. Think, for example, of the network of influences with reference to the Negro with which the white child in Georgia is born. Think of the complex of influences that relentlessly, steadily bear down on the Polish child with reference to his Jewish neighbors; influences on Protestants, on Catholics with reference to the other group. Thus we begin to get an idea of this conditioning process that has its source in environment.

—Julius Drachsler. Quoted in *Jewish Experiences In America*. Edited by Bruno Lasker, *The Inquiry*, 1930, New York City.

UNLEARNED REACTION TO NOVELTY

Projection of an unfamiliar, strange, unusual situation creates in the individual not necessarily fear, but a state of suspense—a kind of balance between the impulse to draw near and the impulse to withdraw. . . . Whether the reaction to this unfamiliar person or object or stimulus shall be a reaction of avoidance and ultimate hostility or a reaction of attraction and ultimate harmony and co-operation will depend upon the conditioning stimuli that are brought to bear at the time of confrontation and also upon the frequency and intensity of the influence brought to bear on the individual.

—Julius Drachsler, *Prejudice as a Social Phenomenon in Jewish Experience*. (pp. 145-146.)

STEREOTYPES

What matters is the character of the stereotypes, and the gullibility with which we employ them. And these in the end depend upon those inclusive patterns which constitute our philosophy of life. If in that philosophy we assume that the world is codified according to a code which we possess, we are likely to make our reports of what is going on describe a world run by our code. But if our philosophy tells us that each man is only a small part of the world, that his intelligence catches at best only phases and aspects in a

coarse net of ideas, then, when we use our stereotypes, we tend to know that they are only stereotypes, to hold them lightly, to modify them gladly. We tend, also, to realize more and more clearly when our ideas started, where they started, how they came to us, why we accepted them. All useful history is antiseptic in this fashion. It enables us to know what fairy tale, what school book, what tradition, what novel, play, picture, phrase, planted one preconception in this mind, another in that mind.

There is another reason, besides economy of effort, why we so often hold to our stereotypes when we might pursue a more disinterested vision. The systems of stereotypes may be the core of our personal tradition, the defenses of our position in society.

They are an ordered, more or less consistent picture of the world, to which our habits, our tastes, our capacities, our comforts and our hopes have adjusted themselves. They may not be a complete picture of the world, but they are a picture of a possible world to which we are adapted. In that world people and things have their well-known places, and do certain expected things. We feel at home there.

—Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (pp. 81ff).

CONTRIBUTION OF CEREMONIES TO THE FORMATION OF PREJUDICES

Too often they engender not international friendship but unmitigated snobbery. "America" in the person of the oldest, the prettiest, or most popular pupil drapes the Star Spangled Banner around the lesser nations of the world. . . .

Very different are those efforts to have children of foreign parentage produce dramatic master-works of their own nation. . . . Such plays make children aware for example, that Italians carry in their blood something of the glory of old Rome. . . . They realize that the great figures of the Old Testament are not extinct in line but that little Moe and little Isidore really are aristocrats by as much right as the little boy who traces his descent from the Mayflower.

FALSE ASSOCIATIONS

Partly then, through deliberate efforts to foster certain attitudes but more largely through the child's own logic and contrary to any definite intention on the part of educators certain associations between races and social value are created that tend to become stronger as experience accumu-

lates additional seeming evidence, faulty though it may be. Bruno Lasker classifies these associations on the basis of a study of cases as follows:

1. Associations of inferiority with physical characteristics.
2. Associations of inferiority with national origin.
3. Association of inferiority with foreign habits.

—*Race Attitudes in Children* (pp. 232-242).

NAMES AND PREJUDICES

Our so-called race problems are merely problems caused by our antipathies.

Now the . . . antipathies of men are very elemental, widespread and momentous mental phenomena. But they are also in their fundamental nature extremely capricious and extremely suggestible mental phenomena. Let the individual man alone and he will feel antipathies for certain other human beings very much as any young child does—namely, quite capriciously. . . . But train a man first to give names to his antipathies and then to regard the antipathies thus named as sacred merely because they have a name and then you get the phenomena of social hatred, religious hatred. . . . Such trained hatreds are peculiarly pathetic. . . .

—Josiah Royce, *Race Prejudices and Other American Questions* (pp. 47-48).

THE GROWTH OF A PERSONAL INTO A GROUP CONFLICT

In consequence of the alliance of personalities we frequently find a conflict between two individuals widening to include the entire circle of associations of each. Particularly does this occur when one person is threatened or attacked as a member of a certain group. The expanded personalities of all his fellow members are also threatened and the attack is interpreted as an attack upon the group as a whole. The emotion of the individual reinforces and is reinforced by that of his neighbor and the cumulative reaction is likely to be heavily charged.

—*The Inquiry, Community Conflict* (p. 8).

CONSPICUOUSNESS AND PREJUDICES

The fundamental fact of the situation is that the Jews are fairly distinct in their physical appearance, and in the spelling of their names, from the run of the American people. They are, therefore, inevitably conspicuous.

It follows that the vices of civilization stand out in the Jews as under a magnifying glass. And a very great deal, I believe much the greater part of ordinary anti-semitism in America is simply the startled recognition of evils that are not recognizable when they occur to people of less distinct characteristics. Thus while the Jews are *not* sharper traders than the Greeks or the Scotch, and while there are not among the Jews more blatantly vulgar vices than among other stock, sharp trading and blatant vulgarity are more conspicuous.

—Walter Lippmann, "Public Opinion and the American Jew,"
American Hebrew, April 14, 1922.

SOURCE OF RACE PREJUDICE

The manner in which racial groups confront each other is . . . the most important. If there are difficulties of adjustment, with stout claims which either party is claiming against the other, emotion boils. Where accommodation has been reached, with a working plan accepted so that there is no need for struggle to protect one's own and no promise of gain by aggression, then antipathies . . . grow quiet and unperilous. . . .

Racial prejudice is roughly proportioned to the social injury which one racial group believes may be done it by others. . . . Physical and cultural contrasts arouse . . . strong antipathy. . . .

—G. M. Stratton, *Social Psychology of International Conduct* (pp. 53-55).

RACE PREJUDICE AND CASTE PREJUDICE

As an attitude there is no difference between caste prejudice within a race and prejudice between races, and much of our race prejudice is so involved with caste that it is impossible to tell which predominates.

—H. A. Miller, *Nations, Races and Classes* (p. 133).

SOCIO-RACIAL BASES FOR GROUP SEPARATION AND CONFLICT

Anti-semitism as it manifests itself in America is essentially a part of a long Anglo-Saxon tradition of dislike of the newer arrivals. . . . They consider the American a completed product, perfection already attained, and they resent any social or cultural group which comes among them and persists in believing that it has something worthy of its own. . . .

The Jew while accepting what America has to offer him more readily than the other stocks, also guards more jealously his own cultural identity. . . . The sticking together is also an Irish trait.

—Lewis S. Gannet in *American-Anti-semitism*, *Nation*, March 21, 1923.

A RACE-RELATIONS CYCLE

The "race-relations cycle" . . . is a recurrence of the behavior of native Americans toward immigrants. This cycle can be studied in the attitudes toward Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and Mexicans on the Pacific. There is first curiosity and sympathy, followed by economic welcome which brings an increase of numbers. The third stage is industrial, and [there is] social antagonism as competition develops. Next comes legislative antagonism, succeeded by fair-play tendencies, after which a sixth stage of quiescence is reached. The last phase is found in the second-generation difficulties, the assimilated children being only partially accepted by the natives.

—E. S. Bogardus, *The American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1930, (pp. 612-70).

TEACHING AS A CAUSE OF CONFLICT BETWEEN JEWS AND GENTILES

The course it [anti-semitism] runs begins usually at some point of social disturbance where the cause is hidden and the distressed emotion is strong. The Jews are then declared to be the hidden cause and the emotion is enchanneled by and projected upon this symbol. . . . The matter of interest is not, however, that this nonsense was invented, but that being nonsense it should so readily, so almost inevitably, serve to integrate social fears. . . .

The answer lies in the Christian religion itself, in the status which Christianity assigns to the Jews. . . . The answer lies in the role which Christian teaching plays in the make-up of the Western mind. . . .

From the crucifixion to the time of the Second coming they [the Jews] were doomed to live outside the fellowship of the saved. If you can end this teaching . . . you will strike anti-semitism at its foundation.

—Horace M. Kallen in "The Roots of Anti-semitism", *Nation*, Feb. 28, 1923.

[A Jewish consultant writes expressing his disagreement with Mr. Kallen's inference that the essence of Christianity implies anti-semitism.]

THE RECRUDESCENCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM AT END OF WAR

At the close of the war, the old enemies ceased to be appropriate objects of hatred as they had been but the Jew was a vicarious substitute having the support of tradition. Very much of present anti-semitism is a transfer of emotion from the enemy simply because there is a need for some emotional outlet.

—H. A. Miller, *Races, Nations and Classes* (p. 99).

HOW SCHOOLS CONTRIBUTE TO FORMATION OF PREJUDICE— GENERAL ATTITUDE

The American Public School like that of every other country serves of course, in some of its functions, the purpose of preserving the established folkways.

It is the common instrument of many "like minded" homes to mold the children in the established pattern of thinking. . . . The school necessarily represents the community in a conservative mood.

The outstanding problem of the American school system almost from the outset has been how to preserve those traditions in a constant flux of population involving not only the introduction of hitherto unrepresented folkways and *mores* through immigration, but also diffusion of the original settlers over a continent with widely differing, geographical, climatic and therefore occupational conditions.

—Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (p. 146).

TEACHING AND PREJUDICE

The influence of the church, says a middle-Western high school teacher, is generally to give the white Protestant child a feeling of superiority, of being the elect. Others are newcomers, outsiders, to be either welcomed or rejected, but not to be met as equal. . . .

The falsification of description by our simplification or stressing of what is quaint and strange to Western ideas in the school teaching of geography also affects many other groups [in addition to Negroes and Orientals—Ed.]. . . .

In most of these cases, the propaganda effect of the illustrations, we presume, is accidental and not intentional. The subject is a serious one because the picture fastens into the mind of the child more definite impressions than the text, impressions that last long after the text has been forgotten. . . .

When all is said and done the outstanding criticism which may be made of the teaching of civics in relation to race attitude is not, however, that it diffuses this or that information which is incorrect or that it encourages this or that attitude which is prejudiced. The chief failure, in so far as there is failure, lies in the divorce of civics teaching from the home and social experience of the child. . . .

The most comprehensive survey of the propagandist elements in the teaching of history, . . . Prof. Bessie L. Pierce's *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History* . . . contains ample evidence of the different trends of the sectional feelings and nationalistic bias that enter into the choice, content and diffusion of history texts and the war raging around them. . . .

Even those who have no particular fault to find with the tenor of books on American History often feel these should be supplemented by books which tell of the cultural contribution made by immigrant groups and the historical development back of these contributions. . . .

A churchwoman speaks of the "many stories" brought by her youthful clients of pagan rites produced by other social groups and of the unclean food eaten by other people. She wondered what part home or church may have played. . . .

A New Jersey parents' group agreed: as far as educational influences are concerned, up to the present time no effort has been made in school or

Sunday School to overcome adverse race attitudes. In Sunday School no emphasis is laid on the brotherhood of man socially. . . . Always the chief idea is that of sweet patronage.

—Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (pp. 152-189).

LITERATURE PREJUDICE

That in individual cases the literature read in childhood does leave a lasting impression, . . . is illustrated in the following communication:

The word Jew always awakens in my mind a momentary feeling of unpleasantness. I have never had any experience with a Jew which would arouse this feeling, and I was unable to account for it until I remembered a fairy tale which somebody read to me when I was small. In this story the villain is a Jew—lying, thieving, and altogether a despicable character. The story must have made a deep impression on me, and as I had never seen a Jew, my childish mind pictured them all like this one. Later the impression was strengthened by reading "The Merchant of Venice". I regarded Shylock likewise as typical of all Jews.

—Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in children* (p. 164).

READING AND PREJUDICE

In the "penny" dreadful and in the detective story, social controversies as such of course rarely appear except in the background of a situation of intense struggle between individuals. But all the popular prejudices in so far as they are widespread and not merely those of a small section of the country are utilized to the full. . . .

One of the worst features of popular literature for children from the point of view of social attitudes, is the pigeon English or the ridiculous diction that is put into the mouths of foreigners. . . . Children read the "tabloid" papers. . . . Their general effect is to foster prejudice.

—Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (pp. 205-206).

[A consultant writes regarding this item: "It is not only Pigeon English and cloths that count, but in addition they get to be covered by some group term or concept, as Dago, Nigger. It is this classifying of individuals that strikes one as being so difficult to overcome."]

PLAYGROUNDS

The playground may also in some situations be the occasion of the child's first experience of race separation and the arena of the first active part in social conflict. Surveys made in a number of cities have shown that the public playground often introduces in the life of the child who has mixed with children of another race in school the first consciousness of social distance between the two groups.

—Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (p. 197).

THE MOVIES AND PREJUDICE

It is not difficult to find proof of the remarkable extent to which moving pictures—and the best classics no less than the most blood and thunder films—already have affected popular thinking on race attitudes.

—Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (p. 201).

PLAYS

The stage Jew and the stage Irishman, of course, also have their influence on the social attitudes of children. . . . Tests of the origins of pronounced prejudices in young people frequently point to impressions received early in life from vaudeville and burlesque characters. . . .

. . . the worst caricatures of social character . . . are not always found on the public stage but often in private entertainments—sometimes under the auspices of organizations that do not have the faintest notion of the propagandist nature and effect of these entertainments.

—Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (pp. 215-216).

A CONTRIBUTORY CAUSE

One of the greatest contributing causes to the prevalence of racial and religious prejudice is a kind of compensating mechanism for an inferiority complex. Prejudices are not confined to Jew against Christian, or Catholic against Protestant, or even black against white. I can recall from my childhood in a southern town, that there was very little to choose between the unreasoning hatred of the Negro by the lower class of whites and the corresponding unbridled hatred by the Negro of what they called the "poor white trash." . . .

There is no prejudice more intense than that exhibited by certain groups of Jews toward certain other groups of Jews, just as I think that there is probably no prejudice more intense than that exhibited by certain Protestant sects toward certain other Protestant sects. When a German Jew expresses that kind of feeling for the Jew from eastern Europe, he is trying to show a superiority in something which is quite futile and unreal, to replace an inferiority that is actual and vital and real.

—Joseph M. Proskauer, *The Christian Century*, for January 21, 1931.

NOTES

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOCIAL COSTS OF PREJUDICE

THE JEW AND THE MEDICAL SCHOOL

It is three times harder for a Jewish boy, completing his university work in New York, to enter a medical college than for other boys in other parts of the country. Jewish boys who are ready for medical school have often to try from five to forty-six colleges before they can secure admission. One year some six hundred such boys, who could not prosecute their studies in medicine here, made application at Edinburgh, of whom but thirty could secure places. Of Americans studying medicine abroad a disproportionate number are constituted of Jewish boys who could not secure admission to an American medical college.

—Professor Frank Gavin, of the General Theological Seminary, New York.

[A consultant asks: "Are not many non-Jewish boys also refused admissions? Is the pressure from the Jewish group on the medical school so great that the administrators must restrict admissions?"]

IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

I should like to see further study made of the play of prejudice in the field of education. First, as to how it breaks out as bias in the teaching process itself, and secondly, how school boards and superintendents and college presidents express it when hiring and firing teachers. It is evident that in Wisconsin, for example, there is much difficulty in placing Jewish college graduates in Protestant or Catholic communities as teachers. So, too, our Catholic students report difficulties in getting positions in strong Protestant localities. Just how extensive this is we do not know. I imagine without great cost we could canvass public and private teachers' agencies with some profit to discover the extent and intensity of this factor.

—Kimball Young, in correspondence with the National Conference of Jews and Christians.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST A PROTESTANT MINORITY

In parts of New England a Protestant has difficulty in getting a job as a public school teacher where Catholics are in the majority on school boards.

—A Massachusetts School Teacher.

WHAT EMPLOYERS IN ONE CITY WANT

We found that discrimination, religious and racial, in reference to the matter of employment, does exist.

In industry, perhaps it can be best put before you by this citation from our records. The head of a school placement bureau stated that there were over 100,000 cards of prospective employers in his files. At least 20 per cent of that tremendous number of calls for prospects indicate racial or religious discrimination.

This discrimination exists to a large degree in Boston. One out of every five cards—mind you, over 100,000 cards—coming from employers reads, e. g., "No Jews," and many read, "No Italians." An employer calls the office and wants "an American type" sent to him. Analysis of these phrases shows it is a cloak under which certain employers try to hide their prejudices.

—Report for a Round Table made by George W. Coleman of the Babson Institute in the *Seminar*, held at Harvard University, Boston, Nov. 12-13, 1929.

IGNORING THE "WIDER OBLIGATIONS"

In early stages of ethics, rights and duties do not attach to human beings as such. They attach to him as a member of a group. A stranger may enter a community with a safe conduct or under the protection of some God or some taboo. He may come as a guest under the aegis of his host. But except under such conditions he is destitute of rights. . . . Civilized humanity is still organized in groups and there is still a deep distinction between the obligations binding members of the same group to one another and those that are recognized as holding as between members of different groups. . . .

The special and general need not necessarily conflict. The one may supplement the other. It is where a wider obligation is ignored or overridden in favor of the narrower that we speak of group morality.

—L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution* (Vol. I, pp. 240-241).

ANTHROPOLOGY

Clark Wissler in "Man and Culture" mentions three corollaries in anthropology which have pertinent bearing upon the relations of Christians and Jews:

1. Each tribe, or true national unit, tends to regard itself as superior to all others and holds its culture to be the best. . . . This means that all groups are to be met upon an equal level.

2. There is a tendency of a group to regard its culture as synonymous with its life. There is reason to believe this to be inborn, and if so it cannot be eradicated. Those who have the responsibility of dealing with independent cultural groups should bear this in mind, for the reaction to a threat to trample upon a culture is about as inexorable as natural law. The importance of such principles lies in their value as cautions against blundering into a position that leaves the other group no recourse but to fight.

3. When a group, attains a new solution to one of its important cultural problems it becomes zealous to spread that idea abroad and is moved to embark upon an era of conquest to force the recognition of its merits. When such international situations arise no statesman can deal intelligently with the group unless he comprehends the nature of the force that is behind it.

SOCIAL CONFLICT AND RELIGION

Religion is always organized socially. From the heathen who in his blindness bows down to wood and stone to the most complex ecclesiastical systems, man has worshipped his divinity in associations, the basis of which has not been theological harmony, but rather some prior grouping not essentially religious. In other words, a religious system is originally secondary to the group in which it is found. It may develop such power as to have actual priority in consciousness; but even where this seems to be the case, conflict inevitably reestablishes the original relationship in which the group takes precedence over religion.

—H. A. Miller, *Races, Nations and Classes* (pp. 23-39).

CULTOCRACY

The least understood form of domination and yet the most prevalent is what I have named Cultocratic. This is the control exercised by those who

have a conviction of superiority, which superiority they try to impose on others or to maintain intact from connection with others. In both cases there will be resentment.

—H. A. Miller, *Races, Nations and Classes* (p. 27).

OPPRESSION PSYCHOSIS

The abnormality of the conflict does not inhere in a relationship viewed merely externally as just or unjust but must be estimated entirely by the pathology of its psychological results. . . . We can not appeal to abstract principles of practice to determine what should be the relation between races, nations and classes, but we must observe what are the resultant attitudes. The particular form of pathology which is involved in our problem may be called the oppression psychosis. . . .

A political, economic or cultural domination inevitably results in the frustrated will of the subject group. . . . When freedom is denied, frustration results, not only for individuals but in the relationships of societies. . . . An oppression psychosis is reflected by all of the members characteristically. . . . We have even come to attribute certain biological and racial characteristics to the Irish and to the Jews when their peculiarities are nothing but injustice expressed in characteristic attitudes. . . . An oppressed group is abnormally subjective. Its inability to realize itself freely has turned back attention to itself. . . . The most outstanding result of the oppression psychosis is to create a group solidarity which is far stronger than could have been created by other means.

—H. A. Miller, *Races, Nations and Classes* (pp. 33-36).

UNIQUE EFFECTS OF HUMAN OBSTRUCTION OF IMPULSES

Human obstruction of our impulses produces in us under certain conditions reactions which are not produced by obstruction due to non-human events. The reaction to human obstruction takes the form first of anger and an impulse to resist; and then if resistance is found to be or felt to be useless, of an exquisitely painful feeling of unfreedom. . . . Wounded self-respect, helpless hatred and thwarted affections, are, that is to say, different psychological states from hunger and fatigue, though all are the results of obstructions to the carrying out of our impulse.

—H. A. Miller, *Races, Nations and Classes* (p. 23).

CONTRADICTIONARY REASONS FOR DISCRIMINATING AGAINST JEWS

Half the arguments (actual or implied) against the employment of Jews in America have their origin in the opinion that they adapt themselves too slowly (or not at all) to western ideas, the other half that they adapt themselves too rapidly . . . the explicit reasons are more often of the second type, dislike of them springs from too rapid an adaptation of the Jewish immigrant and his children to American life. Or shall we say, to uneven adaptation.

—Bruno Lasker, *Jewish Experiences in America* (p. 71).

INSTANCES OF VOCATIONAL DISCRIMINATIONS

More and more the question of Jews and jobs is emerging from the ineffectuality of private conversation to the active forums of public consideration. . . .

Clare Lewis, a Christian placement specialist of New York who has dealt with more than 27,000 junior applicants in the past decade, has publicly stated that "The young Jewish worker, in spite of his superior educational qualifications, is severely handicapped, because there is such widespread discrimination on the part of employers against Jewish applicants." Furthermore, some employers, with a percentage of Jewish workers, "are seizing this occasion, when non-Jewish workers are available, to lower even further their Jewish quotas." This statement emphasizes the fear that the Jew is in danger of becoming a marginal worker.

Young men and women, seeking work, turn to the Help Wanted columns of the daily press. These advertisements have become fewer in the past decade, not because the volume of business has decreased but because employers have learned to transfer the burden of interviewing applicants to the commercial employment agencies. But even in the "ads" which do appear, far too many carry the phrase, "state religion" or some other euphemism as warning that "No Jews Need Apply."

One investigator reported that he had applied to exactly one hundred agencies for a position as bookkeeper, auditor, clerk, etc. In ninety-one cases he was told a Jew would be unacceptable. The files of an agency serving four hundred representative corporations and business establishments, came recently under my scrutiny, disclosing that eighty-nine percent of them

preferred Christian applicants. These two instances give startling corroboration to the declaration of Heywood Broun and George Britt, in their recent book, *Christians Only*, that the chances against the Jew seeking a job in New York are about ten to one.

Some agencies frankly declare, through printed slips handed to callers, that Jewish applicants will not even be registered for employment. Some have the brazen effrontery to post placards declaring: "For the Present, Jewish Applications Not Accepted."

[A consultant asks: "Is this not a more honest statement than to accept applications, take money for their filing, and then do nothing about them? This employment agency may frankly be facing a situation over which it has no control."]

One agency manager, the more quickly to dispose of a roomful of applicants, told them *en masse*, "I'm sorry, but we have no jobs for bookkeepers—or Jews."

Many employment agencies are guilty of asking employers the insidious question, "Have you any religious preference?" The vice-president of a company with probably the largest newspaper advertising appropriation in America writes me that the employment agencies serving his company raised this question. Where prospective employers had, perhaps, not thought of it before, their attention is forced to the matter. One of the sorriest aspects of the frightful situation is that some Jewish employers fall victim to the flattery of the query, lending justification and defense to Christian discriminators. . . .

Among the colored people, the expression "to pass" means acceptance as white. With deep regret must be reported the wide growth of a synonymous phrase among Jewish applicants for employment. With them, "to pass" means acceptance by personnel managers as Gentile. . . .

Is it generally understood that it is necessary for Jews to enroll as members of churches to gain employment in certain companies? The compulsion is not, of course, direct. But it is inescapable. The files of the American Jewish Congress Committee on Economic Discrimination list many cases of such enrollment. . . .

One of the principal objections, voiced by many corporation personnel managers to explain the non-employment of Jews, is absence on Holydays. In a metropolis like New York, however, with its great percentage of Jews

representing demand as well as supply, it would seem that the partial depletion of service staffs at these times would offset one another. A simple piece of inquiry revealed this balance to be the case. And thus, one of the most frequent and specious of arguments against the employment of Jews was spiked.

Large corporations, fearful lest the public recognize the implications of an inquiry concerning the religion of applicants, adopt various devices to escape the charge of discrimination. Thus, one of the most important railroad systems, in its New York employment office, requires applicants to state their religions. The blank, however, nowhere states the name of the company, so that an investigator would have difficulty in proving its origin.

Agencies use the semi-secret terms—No. 1, No. 2 or No. 5—to describe applicants. No. 1 is a Protestant; No. 2 is a Catholic; No. 5 is a Jew. In the course of my investigation, I applied for a position with a great corporation of over 34,000 employees in New York, and reputed to discriminate against Jewish applicants. A careful scrutiny of the four-page, 78-question blank showed no basis for this assumption. Since religious classification is the keystone of the whole arch of religious discrimination, I was about to conclude that the rumor concerning the company was false. Then, in an offhand, casual, after-thought manner the interviewer asked, "And what is your religion?" My answer went into the upper left square on page one—in code!

Withal, I feel confident that the executive heads of many corporations whose employment manager's policy is anti-Jewish, would not countenance this practice were the matter brought to their attention by informed and accredited representatives of American Jewry.

In this lies our greatest hope for amelioration.

—J. X. Cohen, *Opinion* for December 14, 1931.

COMMENTS ON VOCATIONAL DISCRIMINATION

I have a feeling that we are apt to neglect profoundly important economic, political, and social factors which after all lie behind the verbal and habitual expression of prejudice. It is important, if we are to deal intelligently with these matters, to come to grips with the underlying causes of

prejudices. The fact of competition for jobs is everywhere evident. Now, for instance, anti-semitic sentiment in New York City simply serves the purpose of limiting competition in the open market. In other words prejudice here is a "defense mechanism", as the Freudians might say, against a more rational and open inter-action of people for jobs. . . .

In the matter of competition of Jewish men and women in New York City for clerical positions, is it not true that the whole mechanization of stenography, bookkeeping, accounting, and office work generally has produced a real crisis not only for Jewish boy and girls but for Gentiles as well? We have had two decades of vocational training in commercial subjects and have produced a set of attitudes favorable to the white-collar type of job only to find that the mechanization of this sort of work has made it increasingly difficult to place these high school graduates in commercial positions. In other words, while it may be true that the Jew suffers unfavorably in the competitive field, the matter is not so simple a one as it is often made to appear.

Prejudice is a powerful means of keeping groups from mixing too closely. It has the mark of the class and caste system, and is not the superficial thing which it is thought to be. Whenever the dominance or superiority of any group is threatened by another, all the tricks of prejudice are resorted to to keep up the morale and solidarity of one's own group. And this last point suggests this further notation: Prejudice, it must be remembered, like atrocity—story propaganda during war, is made for home consumption. It tickles one's own pride and stimulates belief in the superiority of one's "own people". We must never forget that prejudice is the outcome of we-group versus other-group relationships.

—Kimball Young, in correspondence with the National Conference of Jews and Christians.

AN INQUIRY INTO VOCATIONAL DISCRIMINATION

A mimeographed report of a preliminary inquiry into the problem of discrimination, under the auspices of a committee of social scientists and citizens of New York, made by Mrs. Elinor Sachs Barr, of the Emanuel Federated Employment Services, may be secured by addressing the Emanuel Service at 71 West 47th St., New York, N. Y.

ONE KIND OF RESEARCH NEEDED

"Prejudice thrives upon stereotyped thinking, Jews have every reason to complain of a host of stereotypes existing in Christian minds which gives rise to Anti-Semitism. On the other hand, Jews have a number of stereotypes about Christians which in turn gives rise to Anti-Gentilism. It would be highly beneficial if these prejudices were put down, say, in parallel columns, so that they might be studied objectively. In this manner the ugly features of both expressions could be viewed as two sides of the same shield."

—Ernest R. Trattner, Rabbi of Mt. Neboh Temple, New York City.

WIDER ASPECTS OF THE COSTS OF PREJUDICE

Vocational prejudice against aliens; against Protestant school teachers in certain Massachusetts towns whose Catholics dominate numerically; against Catholics in many economic situations,—these problems are to be studied, for they involve apparent discriminations growing out of preferences of employers for their own religious or national group.

The Bill recently introduced into the New York State legislature eliminating question of religious affiliation from certain employment blanks grew out of a recent discrimination against a Catholic school teacher.

—H. L. Lurie, Director, Bureau of Jewish Social Research.

NOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS OF DEALING WITH PREJUDICES

THE TASK OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

The task of social education for human relationships is not easy. We are faced by tremendously perplexing problems. Perhaps the social psychologist can help in the establishment of understanding and good will between Christians and Jews. William Graham Sumner once advanced a theory of in-group and out-group psychology. Everyman's language has a phrase, "We, the people." So, too, every language has derogatory names for the out-group. Furthermore, we have a set of ethics toward our in-group which is taken for granted. A different set of ethics directs us to scalp the heads of the out-group. Unfortunately, this in-out psychology is not limited to primitive people. All of us praise and like and credit and appreciate and associate with our in-group.

The antithesis holds true to a degree toward the out-group. We believe evil of them. We damage them. We discriminate against them. We keep away from them. The world war was a recent example of large scale collective hating. It was a collective social neurosis toward an out-group. We steadfastly refused to see the truth about the enemy because they were the out-group in a period of tremendous emotional struggle. Russia is an illustration of the collective incapacity of all of us to see and to understand an out-group.

—Hornell Hart, *The Christian Century*, for January 21, 1931.

BUILDING UP RESISTANCE

It seems to me important to deal with the situation through building up resistance rather than through eliminating prejudicial factors in the environment. I suspect that inoculation and vaccination are sound principles in social health as well as in physical. Probably it will be easier for any teacher to help a group of adolescents become critically aware of the insinuating elements in moving pictures, press reports, novels, patriotic speeches, and even school textbooks than it will be to produce changes in those instruments themselves. In other words, I am suggesting that a part of every home, school and club program should be a unit on how to think straight in the midst of biasing influences.

—Goodwin Watson, quoted in *Race Attitudes in Children*.

SUGGESTED PRINCIPLES

I venture to suggest a set of principles for the governing of intergroup relations; principles, not yet accepted or even grasped by the majority of people. This is to admit that they are debatable. But if true, their general acceptance may prove revolutionary in improving the relationships between religious and racial groups.

1. *Variety, not uniformity, of cultures is enriching and hence to be desired.* The world has labored mistakenly on just the opposite theory. Yet it can be proved from history that uniformity carries in itself the seeds of dry rot. To the extent that any nation or religion has succeeded in imposing itself universally, it has begun to dig its own grave. The most worthy and splendid cultures have developed under the stimulus of contact with others unlike itself. This can be shown in the life of Judaism, Catholicism, and Protestantism. This very variety forces each group back upon what is essential in its system, causes creative growth, and prevents preoccupation with non-essentials. Racially and nationally this principle has always been recognized. No one wishes to see all men of one race, or believes the world could be combined into one nation. The principle has not been conceded as applying to religions. Is this not the next step? Its acceptance would not prevent a large degree of sharing among religious groups of those values developed within the peculiar culture of each group.

[I cannot help thinking that there is a fallacy in concluding that a variety of *religions* is desirable just because a variety of cultures is desirable. Whatever else religion is, or does, it claims to give insight into the *truth*. No one would think of claiming that a variety of sciences is better than one science!]

—Comment by a Consultant.

2. *Loyalty to one's own group does not necessarily involve antipathy toward other groups.* We have too long been taught that it does; that group loyalty is built up by animosity toward and conflict with opposing groups. But antipathy comes only when our first principle is ignored and each religious group feels that it must impose its culture on the entire world, leading to cut-throat competition.

3. *Mutual respect between groups must be based on understanding, not on ignorance.* There is a superficial respect possible on the basis of ignorance. This is easily shattered upon first acquaintance. We must get pass that first stage of shock and on into real understanding if the more genuine respect is to be achieved. Too often we have gone on the facile assumption that if persons of different cultures could just be brought together a deeper understanding and mutual respect would be the immediate result. Not necessarily. Experience shows that first contacts usually reveal more fundamental differences than had been suspected, making respect, for the time being, even more difficult. If people have the patience to move through this disconcerting interval until they can really put themselves in the other person's place, they may come to a mutual respect much deeper and truer than the genial but spurious respect which existed at the beginning.

4. The fourth principle calling for recognition today is this: *Group loyalty is validated only by a stronger loyalty to something greater than the group itself.* Group culture and group-developed values lose their meaning except as they contribute to the individual's higher loyalties. When one's religious, racial, or national loyalty causes him to forget or deny his loyalty to something higher, he becomes untrue not only to the greater ideal but also, whether he knows it or not, to the smaller group. Just as a nation is crippled by its one hundred per cent patriots, so a religious group is stultified by its narrow loyalties. The smaller loyalty must ever be sacrificed to the higher, not merely in the interests of the higher, but even for the integrity of the lesser group itself. This paradox has escaped the notice of many. It is, in essence, the principle of losing life in order to find it.

We suggest four "higher" loyalties which give meaning to our group loyalties:

- a. Loyalty to the American ideal of freedom, religious, political, and economic freedom.
- b. Loyalty to the world-neighborhood ideal.
- c. Loyalty to the human ideal of respect for personality.
- d. Loyalty to the highest spiritual ideal—loyalty to God.

—Prof. Bruce Curry, in a paper presented at the Paterson, N. J. Seminar, November, 1931.

PREACHING AND PROSELYTIZING

We Jews agree that the right and the duty to preach what is held to be religious truth is not to be denied to any religion, and is indeed an essential of any vital religion. But if this be done to adherents of other faiths, it must be done only to adults, and without bribes or pressure, economic or social.

—Rabbi Harry Levi and Rabbi David deSola Pool, at Wellesley College Seminar, November, 1931.

A DISTINCTION BETWEEN CONVERSION AND PROSELYTISM

Conversion to the Catholic faith must result from the free acceptance of Catholic teaching. Force, violence, fraud, whether in the form of bribes or pressure, economic or social, may not be employed, for they are sinful. This is proselytism. Without the consent of their parents, the Catholic church would not receive minors into her fold, even if they freely consent, unless under exceptional circumstances.

—Father M. J. Ahearn, at the Wellesley Seminar.

MAJOR OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION WITH REFERENCE TO INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

It may be well . . . to recapitulate the major educational objectives in the modification of social attitudes upon which presumably there may be enough consensus to permit the working out of the local and national programs in which home and school, church and recreational, have their part:

1. The general flexibility of mental responsiveness that would at least maintain an equilibrium, a state of curiosity, as between pleasant and unpleasant reaction to new experienced impression.
2. Sensitiveness to the demands of justice in the dealings between individuals and the groups.
3. Substitution of correct information for misinformation and of understanding for misunderstanding.
4. Appreciation for qualities and achievements in harmony with the cultural value shared by all groups.

—Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (p. 371).

CRITERIA OF DESIRABLE INTEGRATION OF GROUPS

Among the criteria for creative integration of conflicting groups into a harmonious larger group given in community conflict are:

- (a) The interests at stake should be tested and validated.
- (b) Valid interests should be used, not negated.
- (c) The solution should involve functional co-operation, not merely agreement.
- (d) The solution should not involve victory or defeat for any one.
- (e) The solution will be proportionally more fruitful if it includes a new factor, an invention which is the resultant of the interpenetration of those differences which are vital to the conflict.

—*Community Conflict*, "The Inquiry" (pp. 126-127).

TRULY EDUCATIONAL AIMS

Above all, we have to stress the fact that, no matter what types of personal interracial contact are practicable or seem desirable with a view to the total situation in any given set of circumstances, the possibilities of a truly educational procedure always are present, though the means must differ. In one home it may be possible to promote actively pleasant interracial contacts of the children so as to condition them for an adult life free from race consciousness. In another, no kind of actual contact may be practicable, and yet by the use of many devices it is possible to pre-dispose the child for an appreciative frame of mind toward the achievements of other peoples and races, for a habitual fair dealing with persons of unprivileged groups, for a sense of the value of fact as against superstition.

—Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (pp. 381-2).

EDUCATION AS A WAY OUT

Uneducated people . . . have developed a kind of rule of thumb whereby whenever a certain signal in the form of some familiar circumstance is flashed upon their understanding, they automatically repeat the accustomed set of actions or opinions which they have learned to associate with the signal. . . . Such work is especially prevalent in matters where the emotions are most deeply interested as in love and religion. Possibly this is

because affairs so profoundly involved with the emotional life have their roots in ancient instincts, and, of course, instinctive reactions are notoriously of the uneducated, indiscriminating type. Still all normal people living in society manage, because they must, to educate themselves even in matters involving the most basal emotions. . . . Much training alone will master man's savage inheritance and nothing will sufficiently master it but a critical education.

—F. B. Kaye, "Americanism as an Educational Menace." *The Nation*, July 5, 1922.

PERSONAL CONTACTS

Before a church authorizes its religious teachers to implant notions of religious brotherhood, let it ascertain whether the church . . . is really willing to have its children practice the nearest approach to it, namely, sharing of all their opportunities with other children, regardless of class, race and nationality. . . . Merely verbal teaching of intersocial friendship without personal association in any form, rarely is of much value. Better by far to use other practical forms of personal contact for a gradual training in social forms of behavior and to rely on the imagination of the individual to expand later in life types of association to which such behavior may be applied.

—Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (p. 345).

WHAT RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS CAN DO

Here for example is a program formulated by a Church discussion group in answer to the question as to what churches might do to modify or correct adverse social attitudes:

1. Include definite training as to the fundamental likenesses of all races.
2. Meet representatives of other races.
3. Bring out the cultural values of other races. Call attention to the nationality of great people of other races.
4. Show how Americans have overcome some of the lower standards which, seen in others, bring about a feeling of superiority and point out that other people can do the same.
5. Teach Christian brotherhood of children of a common Father.

—Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (pp. 341-342).

DIVISIVE AND COMMON FACTORS

Prof. Emory S. Bogardus listed these observations after a round-table discussion of Jews, Catholics, and Protestants in a National Conference Seminar at the University of Southern California, October, 1931.

It was our consensus of opinion that the leading divisive factors among Catholics, Jews and Protestants, are:

- a. Differences in church organizations, doctrines, and forms of worship.
- b. Differences in church traditions, and historical clashes.
- c. The fact that each group believes it is the most important expression of religion in the world.
- d. The fact that the members of each group tend to generalize more on the unfavorable reports about the other groups than on the favorable reports.
- e. The fact that each reacts against proselytizing on the part of the others.
- f. The fact that racial prejudices tend to augment religious differences.
- g. The fact that social, political and occupational discriminations augment religious differences.

It was our consensus of opinion that there are several factors held in common by . . . Catholics, Jews and Protestants such as:

- a. There are worthy and unworthy representatives of religion in all three groups.
- b. All believe in the primacy of religion and a spiritual life.
- c. Each group believes in God [definitions may differ].
- d. Each believes that ethical elements are essential in religion.
- e. Each believes in the Golden Rule of do unto others as you would be done by.
- f. Each believes in the capacity of human nature to grow and develop religiously.
- g. Each group believes in the general sacredness of human life.
- h. Each believes in the necessity of worship.
- i. Each recognizes the need for religious education.
- j. All have social service programs and emphasize such factors as economic and racial justice and world peace.

WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR ADULTS?

What can be done for adults who have passed through childhood and who have emerged with prejudices set? Is their lot hopeless? It must be admitted that it is difficult to reduce their prejudicial thinking. It is easy to shift the specific conditioning from one "enemy" to another. But to reduce the predilection to think of foreigners in terms of an "enemy" is not so easy. With adults this problem must be approached from the intellectual level. Once an adult is intellectually convinced that he desires to change his automatic emotional responses, once he is convinced sufficiently to persist in non-prejudicial behavior, the chances of his reducing his prejudice are good. A Christian who fears and condemns Jews, and can come to recognize that he is prejudiced and is willing to associate socially with members of that culture, will probably gradually lose his anti-Semitic bias. The difficulty of all adult prejudices lies in the fact that the holder of the prejudice is so seldom willing to recognize that he is prejudiced.

—William Biddle, *Psychology of Prejudice*.

CONDITIONED LEARNING

Practically every responding organ of the body can be conditioned. . . . This conditioning takes place not only in adult life but can and does take place daily from the moment of birth.

—J. B. Watson, *Behaviorism* (pp. 38-39).

[The question is, how can we re-condition whatever untrue and unpleasant responses adults associate with "Catholics", "Jews", "Protestants". Edwin L. Clarke, in *The Art of Straight Thinking*, says that a "prejudiced idea must become detached from the object with which it has illogically become associated. *This can be done by experiences which associate different kinds of ideas with the objects of the prejudice.*" Can the Seminar be made such a reconditioning experience?—Ed.]

PARTICULAR AND UNIVERSAL LOYALTIES

Both race and nation must be preserved because they have certain permanent and necessary functions and because they are natural centers of that

loyalty which can never be swallowed up in world-loyalty since human nature cannot live wholly in universals. . . . On the other hand, there are some interests which are human and universal and it is with respect to these that race and nation fail as centers of loyalty. . . . Between the two sets of loyalties there is a clear distinction: the one is local and particularistic, the other is human. A well rounded social organization, whether within the single group, or among groups, will give practical scope to both. So long as tribalistic loyalty continues to monopolize the social machinery antagonism and competition will survive, because it is based on the conflict principle. In a practical way men must recognize that since they have multiple interests, they have multiple allegiances.

—Ulysses H. Weatherby, "Racial Pessimism" in *Proceedings of Amer. Sociological Society XXIII* (p. 14).

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE SEMINAR AS A TECHNIQUE

By William H. Kilpatrick

In the social process as we see it in operation about us, "man's inhumanity to man" is felt perhaps nowhere more keenly than in racial and religious group prejudices and misunderstandings. An individual may suffer most unjustly not because of anything he has done, but simply because of group antagonisms and discriminations. Moreover, the ordinary run of careless social contacts often seem rather to increase than to remove such separate attitudes. Jew, Catholic, and Protestant form three mutually exclusive groups which have long stood more or less opposed to each other. Age-old prejudices have bred customs and suspicions which only too greatly serve in civic circles to keep alive suspicion, prejudice, and custom.

A seminar can face exactly this situation. It can be founded on the faith that intelligent and sympathetic contact will increase mutual understanding and respect, while shared study may well disclose ways of lessening if not removing some of the hurtful practices. When honest people come together to study a difficult situation, and those who have suffered tell without rancor of their experiences, the others must and will understand better than otherwise they could, both the factors and situation which caused the injustice, and the feelings of those who suffered it. Then, too, those who have felt the injustice sharing with the others the impartial search for the conditioning causes, will often come to see the offending situation in such light as to remove some part of the sting. Both parties will come close together as they enjoin in counsel on possible steps to remedy the situation.

Such a seminar so working needs then intelligent and broadhearted members able and disposed to shed the most delicate situations with objectivity, sympathy, and fairness. Actual round tables, not too large, furnish probably the best ways of studying such problems. Scientific research into underlying facts will often prove invaluable. In the study of situations, some differences of outlook will be traced to fundamental differences of religious faith—these will be recognized as such and accepted as matters of entire respect by all the others. Other differences will be found to rest deep seated in history—these must receive peculiarly sympathetic treatment, for many tender loyalties have grown up in conservatism. Still other difficulties,

though historically conditioned, are still essentially sealed in our present social and industrial life. The area is most promising for actual changes of behavior. No seminar could face a more delicate or more needed work. In it our highest and deepest spiritual resources will find full scope. We must make our social life more truly one of mutual happiness to all.

I am quite convinced that it is necessary to do more consistent study. There must be many seminars held, so that in each interested community there will be a continuing body who profit by their own past efforts at studying the problem. A considerable nucleus must be present of experienced people who have tried to think these things through together so that they understand each other—Jew, Protestant and Catholic—who have come to know each other and believe personally in each other's fairness and wish to get to the bottom.

It has been my pleasure to attend two conferences of the Institute of Pacific Relations—one in Honolulu and one in Kyoto just a year ago. These conferences are called to consider the sore spots of the Pacific ocean, especially where China and Japan come in contact with the western world or, perhaps, I had better turn it around the other way, where the western world comes in contact with China and Japan.

This conference consists of people who believe in talking together; they believe in understanding each other. They believe that if they go about it to understand the problem in a way so that they understand each other, progress has been made. The conferences are conducted on a round table basis, and each round table is meant to be a typical selection from the whole group. There will be Chinese, Japanese, Americans, Canadians, Britishers from Great Britain, Australians, New Zealanders, sitting about a table. They will discuss some very difficult problem—let us say, the Manchurian question.

When a Chinese gets up and tells how the Japanese soldiers have interfered with the local Chinese police, we are made to see how the Chinese in Manchuria feel that problem. And then, when the Japanese tell us how they must keep at certain times a better order than might otherwise be, that there are great investments there, we can see how they feel about it. When they tell of thousands and tens of thousands of Japanese who gave their lives to their country, and we know how the Japanese feel about that, then we can understand how they feel. And as we come to understand each other, we have a different feeling. And as the Japanese and Chinese are in danger of feeling a tenseness with reference to each other, they are similarly in danger of feeling a tenseness with reference to us who are relatively out-

siders. So that when we who are relatively outsiders discuss the matter sympathetically, considerately, they become more inclined to discuss it sympathetically and considerately, and we find—I have seen it perfectly definitely—that the groups come closer and closer together in an understanding and feeling. I have seen friendships formed between Chinese, Japanese, and Americans such that no alienation between nations would make them lose faith in each other. This can be done by members of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish cultures.

—*The Christian Century*, for January 21, 1931.

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